

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 14136 01 OF 03 241852Z

45

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 IO-13 /074 W

----- 107558

O R 241840Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1298

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 14136

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GW, GE, US, UK, FR, UR

SUBJECT: ALLIED PROTEST ON OBSTRUCTION OF TRANSIT

TO BERLIN

REFS: (A) STATE 209296; (B) BONN 14057;

(C) USBERLIN 1752

BEGIN SUMMARY:

PROGRESS ON PREPARATION OF AN ALLIED PROTEST TO THE SOVIETS OVER THE AUGUST 13 TRANSIT INCIDENTS HAS COME TO A HALT BECAUSE OF A FRENCH PROPOSAL TO DELETE WHAT US, UK, AND FRG REPS CONSIDER THE CRUCIAL ELEMENTS OF THE DRAFT PROTEST. FRENCH REP IS REPORTING SITUATION

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 14136 01 OF 03 241852Z

TO PARIS BUT IS UNABLE TO PREDICT FRENCH REACTION.

FRUSTRATED BY CONTINUING ALLIED DELAY, FRG IS
WEIGHING ADVISABILITY OF A BILATERAL DEMARCHE TO THE
FRENCH.
END SUMMARY

TEXT OF PROTEST

1. AT THE AUGUST 24 BONN GROUP MEETING, US REP AND FRG REP (HENZE) REPORTED AGREEMENT OF THEIR AUTHORITIES TO REVISED TEXT SENT TO DEPARTMENT IN PARA 8, REF (B).
2. UK REP (CARTER) NOTED LONDON'S GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE TEXT WITH TWO PROPOSED "DRAFTING" CHANGES, AS FOLLOWS:

-- IN FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA A, "TRANSIT WAYS" SHOULD BE CHANGED TO "TRANSIT ROUTES" (ALL OTHER REPS ACCEPTED THIS CHANGE).

-- FINAL SENTENCE IN PARA B WAS "TOO CATEGORICAL" AND SHOULD BE MODIFIED IN ONE OF THE THREE FOLLOWING WAYS:

- A. IT COULD BE DROPPED.
 - B. IT COULD BE CHANGED TO READ: "ANY SUCH IMPEDIMENT OF TRANSIT TRAFFIC CONSTITUTES A CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE QA."
 - C. THE SENTENCE COULD BE INTRODUCED WITH THE PHRASE, "IN THE VIEW OF THE (BLANK) GOVERNMENT,...."
3. RESPONDING TO BRITISH INSTRUCTIONS, US AND FRG REPS EXPRESSED VIEW THAT ANY OF THE ABOVE CHANGES IN PARA B WOULD UNNECESSARILY WEAKEN THE TEXT. CARTER THEN SAID HE THOUGHT LONDON WOULD BE SATISFIED IF ONLY THE WORD "THEREFORE" WERE DROPPED. US AND FRG REPS ACCEPTED THIS MODIFICATION, AS DID CARTER.
 4. MORE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS WERE RAISED BY FRENCH INSTRUCTIONS. FRENCH REP (LASSUS) SAID THAT HE HAD FAILED "TO SELL THE TEXT TO PARIS." WHILE HE STILL HAD CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 14136 01 OF 03 241852Z

NO WRITTEN INSTRUCTIONS, HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY PHONE THAT THE QUAI AT A HIGH LEVEL -- POLITICAL DIRECTOR -- WANTED A SHORT TEXT. IT SHOULD STATE ONLY THAT A VIOLATION HAD OCCURRED: "THE SHORTER THE STRONGER." PARIS THEREFORE COULD APPROVE THE TEXT ONLY WITH THE DELETION OF SENTENCE 3 OF PARA A -- "THERE IS AMPLE EVIDENCE, ETC." -- AND SENTENCE 2 OF PARA B -- "THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION, ETC."

5. UK, US, AND FRG REPS WERE UNANIMOUS IN
OBJECTING TO THE FRENCH PROPOSAL. CARTER (UK) POINTED
OUT THAT WE WOULD LEAVE OURSELVES QUITE "VULNERABLE" IF
WE SENT A PROTEST ALONG THE LINES PARIS DESIRED. THE
SOVIETS WOULD REPLY THAT THE TURNBACK OF TRAVELERS WAS
FULLY JUSTIFIED BECAUSE OF SUSPICION OF MISUSE OF THE
TRANSIT ROUTES, AND THEN THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO GET

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 14136 02 OF 03 241901Z

42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 IO-13 /074 W

----- 107668

O R 241840Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1299

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 14136

INTO AN ARGUMENT OVER THE EVIDENCE ADDUCED BY THE GDR
IN THE TRANSIT COMMISSION. US REP ADDED THAT IT WOULD

BE MUCH BETTER FOR US TO MAKE THE CENTRAL POINT NOW,
THAT THE REAL GDR MOTIVE WAS DISLIKE OF WHAT THE
TRAVELERS INTENDED TO DO IN BERLIN, THAN TO SAVE THAT
ARGUMENT FOR RESPONDING TO A SOVIET REPLY CONCERN-
ING EVIDENCE OF INTENDED "MISUSE" OF THE TRANSIT ROUTES.

6. HENZE SAID HE WAS QUITE "CONCERNED"
BY FRENCH INSTRUCTIONS. WE HAD AGREED AT THE START
THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE GDR ACTION WAS CENTRAL TO THE
ALLIED PROTEST.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 14136 02 OF 03 241901Z

7. UK, US, AND FRG REPS SAID THAT THEY WOULD REPORT
THE FRENCH PROPOSAL TO THEIR AUTHORITIES
BUT CERTAINLY COULD NOT RECOMMEND ITS ACCEPTANCE.
LASSUS SAID HE WOULD REPORT THE SITUATION TO PARIS.

LEVEL OF PROTEST

8. LASSUS SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN PARIS'
INSISTENCE ON DELIVERY BY THE POLAD IN BERLIN. ON BASIS
OF INSTRUCTION IN REF A, US REP THEREFORE SAID THAT,
WHILE US STILL CONSIDERED THE VIOLATION CALLED FOR A
PROTEST AT A HIGHER LEVEL, WE WOULD IN THE INTEREST OF
PROMPT AGREEMENT GO ALONG WITH DELIVERY IN BERLIN. US
REP ADDED THAT WASHINGTON'S CONCURRENCE IN THIS COMPRO-
MISE HAD BEEN COUPLED WITH APPROVAL OF THE BONN GROUP
DRAFT TEXT AND THAT HE ASSUMED DEPARTMENT WOULD WISH
TO RECONSIDER THE QUESTION IF DRAFTING HAD TO BE
REOPENED. (HENZE HAD OBSERVED THAT THE SORT OF TEXT
THE FRENCH NOW WANTED MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE FOR A
FOREIGN MINISTER TO HAND TO A SOVIET AMBASSADOR, BUT
WOULD BE RIDICULOUS WHEN DELIVERED BY THE POLAD).

9. US REP ADDED THAT DELIVERY IN BERLIN WOULD OF
COURSE REQUIRE MINOR MODIFICATION OF FIRST LINE OF
BONN GROUP TEXT TO INDICATE THAT POLAD WAS SPEAKING
FOR ALL THREE ALLIES. HE ALSO SAID HE ASSUMED THERE
WOULD BE NO OBJECTION IF POLAD DELIVERED PROTEST IN
NOTE FORM, RATHER THAN MORE CUSTOMARY ORAL
STATEMENT WITH TEXT HANDED OVER AS NON-PAPER. LASSUS
AND CARTER THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE NO OBJECTION TO A
NOTE BUT WOULD PUT QUESTION TO CAPITALS.

PRESS HANDLING

10. CONCERNING A PRESS LINE ON THE PROTEST, THERE WAS
CONSIDERABLE SENTIMENT IN FAVOR OF GETTING
OUR CASE BEFORE THE PUBLIC, GIVEN THE FACT -- AS POINTED

OUT BY USBER (REF C) -- THAT THE SOVIETS AND EAST
GERMANS HAVE ALREADY SOUGHT TO JUSTIFY THEIR ACTIONS
PUBLICLY. US REP NOTED WE COULD DO SO BY RESPONDING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 14136 02 OF 03 241901Z

SUBSTANTIALLY AND FAIRLY FULLY TO THE QUESTIONS WHICH
WOULD INEVITABLY FOLLOW THE DELIVERY OF THE PROTEST TO
SOVIETS. CARTER VOLUNTEERED TO PREPARE DRAFT PRESS
GUIDANCE, IN QUESTION AND ANSWER FORMAT, WHICH COULD BE
USED BY CHAIRMAN PRESS SPOKESMAN IN BERLIN. THE BONN
GROUP WILL CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF PRESS HANDLING MORE
FULLY ONCE AGREEMENT ON A PROTEST IS REACHED.

11. US REP SUGGESTED BONN GROUP ALSO CONSIDER THE
DESIRABILITY OF BRIEFING NATO ALLIES ON AUGUST 13
INCIDENTS AND ALLIED REACTIONS. THIS QUESTION ALSO
WILL BE CONSIDERED AT A LATER MEETING.

12. THE NEXT MEETING IS TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR
10:00 A.M. WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25, SUBJECT TO FRENCH
REP'S RECEIVING FRESH WORD FROM PARIS BY THAT TIME.

13. COMMENT: THE FRENCH POSITION LEAVES THE GERMANS
INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED. LUECKING OF FONOFF CALLED US
REP AFTER THIS AFTERNOON'S MEETING TO ASK WHAT COULD BE
DONE TO CHANGE FRENCH POSITION, WHICH WOULD DEPRIVE
ALLIED PROTEST OF ALL MEANING AND PRODUCED FURTHER
DELAYS. HE NOTED THAT THE GDR WOULD PROBABLY AGREE TO
A MEETING OF THE TRANSIT COMMISSION ON AUGUST 26 OR 27.
IT WOULD BE AN UNFORTUNATE SITUATION FOR THE FRG TO BE
CHARGING THE GDR WITH A VIOLATION IN THE TRANSIT
COMMISSION IF THERE WERE NO SIMULTANEOUS PROTEST TO THE
SOVIETS FROM THE ALLIES. IN ADDITION, IT HAD BEEN
APPARENT AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING OF THE
GERMAN COMMITTEE OF THE BUNDESTAG THAT THE OPPOSITION
WAS FURIOUS BECAUSE NOTHING WAS HAPPENING;

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BONN 14136 03 OF 03 241856Z

42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 IO-13 /074 W
----- 107609

O R 241840Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1300

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 14136

EVERYONE WAS WAITING. LUECKING ALSO ALLUDED TO GENSCHER'S UPCOMING MEETING WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR FALIN (AUGUST 26) AND HIS DESIRE TO BE ABLE TO REFER TO THE ALLIED PROTEST THEN. LUECKING SAID THE FRG WAS CONSIDERING A BILATERAL DEMARCHE TO THE FRENCH (POSSIBLY BY GEHLHOFF TO FRENCH AMBASSADOR) AND ASKED OUR VIEWS. EMBOFF SAID HE WAS UNABLE TO PREDICT SUCCESS OF SUCH A DEMARCHE, AS ISSUE COULD IN PART BE A FUNCTION OF BROADER FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS.

14. AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY SPECULATED, THE FRENCH POSITION ON THE PROTEST MAY BE CONNECTED WITH CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BONN 14136 03 OF 03 241856Z

SAUVAGNARGUES' DESIRE TO GO THROUGH WITH AN EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES WITH THE SOVIETS ON THE SEPTEMBER 3 ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE QA. THE FRENCH BONN GROUP REP INQUIRED EARLIER TODAY WHETHER WE HAD RECEIVED ANY RESPONSE TO THE DEMARCHE MADE BY AMBASSADOR WORMSER ON THAT SUBJECT (BONN 13962). THE UK EMBASSY RECEIVED

NEGATIVE INSTRUCTIONS ON THE MATTER LATE THIS AFTER-
NOON. THEY ARE TO INFORM THE FRENCH THAT
SAUVAGNARGUES' INSISTENCE ON A MESSAGE EXCHANGE
OVERLOOKED RECENT DIFFICULTIES, BUT THAT AN ALLIED
REJECTION OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL COULD BE MODERATED,
WHEN IT WAS GIVEN THE SOVIETS, WITH THE SUGGESTION THAT
IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO EXCHANGE MESSAGES ON
NEXT JUNE'S ANNIVERSARY IF THE SITUATION WERE QUIETER
BY THEN.
HILLENBRAND

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, BERLIN ACCESS, HARASSMENT, DIPLOMATIC PROTESTS, DIPLOMATIC NOTES, AMENDMENTS, YOUTH GROUPS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976BONN14136
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760323-0666
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760827/aaaaawow.tel
Line Count: 341
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 STATE 209296, 76 BONN 14057, 76 USBERLIN 1752
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 APR 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <06 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ALLIED PROTEST ON OBSTRUCTION OF TRANSIT TO BERLIN
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GE, GC, US, UK, FR, UR
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006